DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 183 333 RC 011 893

AUTHOR Murphy, Michael J.: And Others
TITLE Compensatory Education Policy and the Intermountain West.
INSTITUTION Utah Univ., Salt Lake City.
PUB DATE Oct 78
NOTE 49p.: One in a series of occasional papers published by the Center for the Study of Educational Policy and Administration, Salt Lake City, UT.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Compensatory Education; Educational Finance; Educationally Disadvantaged; *Educational Policy; *Federal Legislation; *Government Role; *Government School Relationship; *Program Administration; Rural Areas; School District Autonomy; State School District Relationship
IDENTIFIERS *Elementary Secondary Education Act Title I; Idaho; Montana; Utah; Wyoming

ABSTRACT

Concerned with the impact of Title I, as national education policy on four mountain west states (Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, and Montana), this study concludes that Title I has not been internalized, integrated, or institutionalized in this region of the country or in any of the four individual states. The rejection of Title I policy rests on two basic findings. First, the idea of federalism as an appropriate vehicle for making social policy dramatically contradicts the popular ideology of the region. Second, the idea of compensatory education translates into welfarism which is incongruous with the value system in these western states. Each of the states studied has Title I monies and programs. While this fact seems to contradict the stated ideological considerations, the mountain west states have utilized Title I because they are poor, polite, and law-abiding. Two recommendations are offered to make future program expectations more congruent with the needs of the region: reduction of reporting and paper work requirements in the funding of on-going Title I programs in districts where there have been no significant demographic or economic changes and exploration by the states of ways to encourage program consolidation. Based upon application in these states, it is doubtful that one national policy and particularly one set of guidelines can be appropriate to all disadvantaged children and disadvantaged districts. (NEC)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED183333

COMPENSATORY EDUCATION POLICY

AND THE INTERMOUNTAIN WEST

MICHAEL J. MURPHY

DAVID R. BYRNE

CEANNE MITCHELL

Department of Educational Administration

University of Utah

One in a series of occasional papers
published by the

Center for the Study of
Educational Policy and Administration
339 Milton Bennion Hall
University of Utah
Salt Lake City, Utah 84112
(801) 581-6714

RC011893

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

David R. Byrne

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

PREFACE

In 1976 we were asked to examine federal, state and local compensatory education policy in the intermountain west, particularly in Idaho, Montana, Utah, and Wyoming. The study was part of a larger effort to evaluate ESEA Title I ordered by the Congress of the United States and managed by the United States Office of Education.

Our examination was conducted during 1976 and 1977; our findings and recommendations were transmitted to the Institute of Educational Leadership which was coordinating this phase of the study. From IEL they were forwarded to USOE and the Congress.

Usually a commissioned study ends there, with the final report to the contractor being duly received, bills paid and accounts closed. We believe that in this case the things we learned about Title I policy and administration during the study should be made available to those interested in Title I and public policy in the intermountain west, however. Consequently, we've elected to publish a slightly edited version of our final report, and offer it with thanks to all those in the four-state area who so willingly contributed data. Naturally the conclusions and recommendations are ours, and do not necessarily represent the positions of Title I officers in the four states, the Institute for Educational Leadership, or the United States Government.

Michael J. Murphy

David R. Byrne

Salt Lake City, Utah

October, 1978

A STUDY OF COMPENSATORY EDUCATION POLICY

AND THE INTERMOUNTAIN WEST

I. OVERVIEW

The area encompassed by the present study is characterized by a large land mass, sparse population, light industrialization, and below average economic conditions generally. The area possesses extensive mineral wealth as well as stunning natural beauty which has been designated in numerous national parks, national monuments, and national recreation areas. While each state possesses individual characteristics, many common factors prevail throughout the four-state area.

Essentially, the major purposes of this study were to: 1) investigate the interaction of compensatory education policies and practices in the four states of Idaho, Montana, Utah, and Wyoming; and 2) provide insightful information for those who have the responsibility of establishing policy relating to Title I, as well as those who have the subsequent responsibility of implementing Title I policies in the school districts throughout the four states.

In order to collect the necessary information, personal interviews of key people throughout the four states were conducted. Examples of various Title I programs were obtained, and supporting statistical material was gathered. Although specific problems and individual programs were observed in each state, the majority of data reflected a commonality with respect to policy, implementation, programs, major concerns, and certain dissatisfactions with the current operation of Title I. Certain assumptions about the national compensatory education policy underlay the study:

1. That compensatory education as a national policy results from two influences. a) Racial dissent and violence of the 1950's and 60's, and b) substantial documentation of inferior educational experiences of minority and poor children.

2. That the brunt of these two influences obtained in the major metropolitan and industrial areas of the northeast and central sections of the country, with some later attention being drawn to the rural south.

3. That a response to the particular problems and populations of these sections of the country is implicit in the design of compensatory education policy and is reflected in the categories and guidelines of supporting legislation, such as the ESEA.

4. And that compensatory education policy assumes parallel situations exist in other regions of the country.

It seems reasonable to question the appropriateness of the emergent policy for other geographical regions. One such region would be the mountain states--Idaho, Montana, Utah, and Wyoming. This cluster makes for a sensible comparative entity for several reasons:

1. Each of the states is large in terms of land mass area and small in terms of population.

2. All four have similar economic bases: agriculture, mining, tourism. Further each state's economy depends greatly on government service employment.

3. Each of the states has substantially smaller minority populations than the more industrial states in the country.

4. Each state has one population center, small in comparison to the major cities in the nation, with the rest of the population dispersed over the state in small towns.

5. Each state is represented in the national congress at the minimum level, two senators and two representatives.

6. The major minority populations in the states are Native American and Mexican American. In the region there are numerous Indian reservations and a number of differing tribes.

7. Because of small populations and relatively little industrial development, the tax bases of all four states makes them among the "poor" states in the union.

8. Because of an historic isolation and the maintenance of a frontier spirit, each of the states is characterized by a sense of conservative independence from the federal government in its political behavior.

Given that the reasons above support the notion of this Mountain States Region, then it seems a necessary endeavor to question whether the federal policy of compensatory education has utility for treating the educational problems of target populations in the mountain states where they are case in a very different social, economic, geographic and political environment.

II. PROCEDURES EMPLOYED

In carrying out the study we found little Title I organization (in the interest group sense) in any of the four states. There were no networks to be tapped, there was no organization of Title I professionals, and there has been considerable turnover among state department Title I administrative personnel. This job mobility also characterized the school district staff concerned with Title I. The lack of leadership continuity allowed little historical reference and broad awareness of Title I. In short, there were few people who really knew the state in terms of Title I policy or practice. In many instances, files were incomplete or lacked instructive material.

Consequently, we were forced to rely almost entirely upon interviews with individuals who could supply limited perspective. To provide breadth for our interviews we gathered what data we could from the four state departments about Title I programs through the state. In selecting local districts in which to conduct representative interviews we looked at:

1. The proportion of total district revenue represented by Title I revenues.

2. The total dollars of Title I entitlement relative to other districts in the state.

3. The enrollment in the district.

4. The proximity of the district to major populations of Native Americans or Mexican Americans.

Out of this examination we selected three or four districts in each state. Interviews were conducted with the persons who were involved administratively or programatically with Title I. In most cases this meant the assistant or associate superintendent for instruction, the Title I coordinator or district director, a principal or several principals in Title I target schools and parents where that could be arranged. Because our criteria stressed relative size and importance of the Title I program, our sample inevitably included the largest systems in each state. This is to be expected in that poverty is more often recorded in the confines of metropolitan areas. In order to assure that we didn't overrepresent the more urban centers in the four states we deliberately selected districts, oft times far from the major cities, with sizable Title I programs. Selection of districts was done with the help of the state departments of education in each case. In addition to those with the largest programs we asked the state directors to nominate districts that had aggressive, articulate Title I staff members, good programs, and those who challenged state and federal regulation most often. (We did not wish to be limited to districts in which the local Title I people were necessarily good friends of the state Title I director nor necessarily of similar compensatory education beliefs.)

Our sampling efforts yielded a good cross section.

III. HISTORIC, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF THE REGION

It is not possible to fully appreciate educational policy and attitudes in the intermountain west without knowing something of its history and traditions. Accordingly we are supplying a brief description of the region for those who don't know it well.

The historical development of the four states was similar. Like other states comprising the Rocky Mountain and Intermountain Region, these four states were among the last to be settled as part of the western expansion of the United States and statehood was slow in coming. Numerous homesteading operations were undertaken as late as 1910 in Montana, and many towns in the area are less than 75 years old.

Originally, Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming were part of the Oregon Territory which was ceded by Great Britain in 1846. Utah was part of the Mexican Territory and was secured by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo which ended the war with Mexico in 1848.

A wide variety of Indian Tribes was found in these four states, and numerous confrontations occurred as the area became more populated with settlers. There is a significant Indian population in the region, even now; and each state has at least one major Indian reservation. Generally, the first white men to explore this area were fur trappers. However, the members of the Lewis and Clark Expedition (1805 and 1806) were among the first white men to explore both Idaho and Montana. In 1776, two Franciscan fathers, Dominguez and Escalante, explored parts of southern and central Utah.

After the trappers, came various traders and missionaries of all denominations. Following the discovery of gold in California, the settlement of the

area occurred quite rapidly. The Overland Trail brought many people into the general area, with some remaining rather than proceeding on to the west coast. The Pony Express was operational in 1860, and the telegraph route was established in 1861. The discovery of rich gold and silver deposits in the 1860's brought thousands to the Intermountain Region, and the building of the transcontinental railroad brought additional people and opened up new areas. After many conflicts in the east and the midwest, the Mormons arrived in the Great Salt Lake Valley in 1847 under the leadership of Brigham Young.

Mining continued to be an important economic activity in the four states, and today it is of major importance given the current energy crisis. Farming has always been a major industry. From 1860 to 1890, vast numbers of cattle were brought into the area from the overstocked prairies of Texas; and, sheep and cattle ranching became a major industry, with the ranchers themselves becoming politically powerful. Major trade centers developed, usually along established transportation routes which serviced the mining, agriculture, and livestock industries. By 1900, Idaho, Montana, Utah, and Wyoming had been granted statehood.

For the past 75 years, the Intermountain Region has experienced slow, but steady, growth and development. Currently, primary industries still constitute a large segment of the overall economic scene; but, secondary industries such as trade and services, especially those activities associated with the recreation and tourist industry, are increasing in importance. Presently, these four intermountain states are experiencing an unprecedented rate of growth, both with respect to population increases and expanding economic activities. Such recent and ongoing growth has produced numerous changes in the area, causing concern and anxiety in much of the population as a familiar lifestyle undergoes transformation; and traditional values are either questioned or replaced. Although change is underway, the four states comprising this study are still primarily characterized by traditional values and goals, a strong work ethic, "rugged individualism," and a vigorous belief in the self-made person.

Generally, each of the four states comprises a relatively large area with a small population base, resulting in sparse population over much of the area. Together, the four states encompass 413,525 square miles which is approximately 14 percent of the land mass (total acreage) of the contiguous United States. Yet, in 1975 the population of the four states was estimated to be 3,146,000, or one percent of the total U. S. population. Though the population density of these four states is very low, each state contains a major urban population center or strip where a majority of each state's population is located.

Salt Lake City is the largest city and major urban center in the four-state area. As such, it is a regional center of finance and trade. Salt Lake City serves as the focal point for the highly populated Wasatch Front, which is a comparatively densely populated strip of land running approximately 50 miles to the north of Salt Lake and 50 miles to the south. About 800,000 people live along the Wasatch Front. Boise is the largest city in Idaho, and it is also the major center of finance and commerce for that state. Most of the population of Idaho is concentrated in the southern portion of the state, primarily along the route of the Snake River.

Since the total population of Wyoming is estimated at only 374,000 in 1975, it does not contain any truly large population centers. The majority of the population is spread along the southern portion of the state in a series of

relatively small towns starting with Evanston in the west and extending to Cheyenne in the eastern portion of the state. This string of towns follows the early trails across Wyoming which eventually provided the major route for the transcontinental Union Pacific Railroad. In Montana, it is somewhat more difficult to observe a particular settlement pattern or a single major city. In terms of population, Billings is the largest. The capitol of Helena was originally settled because of gold in the adjacent mountains, and Butte was built because of the immense copper ore deposits nearby. Great Falls was originally a trading center built along the Missouri River. Miles City, Glendive, and Wolf Point are the major cities in the eastern prairie country. With a population of 748,000 in 1975, the population density for Montana is only five people per square mile.

The economies of the four states are similar. The primary industries of agriculture, forestry, and mining are of major economic importance. Large cattle and sheep ranches are found in the four states. Ranchers and farmers exert a strong political force within each state. The energy crisis has brought increasing attention to the huge mineral deposits found in this area. Utah is a major producer of coal west of the Mississippi, with estimated reserves exceeding 115,000,000,000 tons; Wyoming ranks fifth in the total of U.S. coal reserves. Extensive coal deposits are also found in southeastern Montana.

Little heavy industry or large-scale manufacturing operations are found in the region. Most of the manufacturing in the area consists of relatively small operations producing easily transported items such as clothing, computer components, electronics, etc. Transportation costs discourage development of industry dependent on large retail market accessibility.

In the past, trade and service operations have been adequate; but, there has been relatively little choice or variety. With an increasing population as well as a large tourist industry, the variety of commercial and specialized services has increased greatly. Tourism is a major industry for all the states in the Intermountain Region. Each state relies heavily on government employment at all levels--local, state, and federal. Major military installations are located in each state, and employment by the federal government provides a stabilizing effect on the local economies.

With the exception of government employment and top-level managerial positions, most jobs in the area are relatively low paying. Unions are not strong, although the major refineries, copper mines, and large manufacturing establishments are generally unionized. Utah is a right-to-work state. Per capita income is below the national average. Small industrial base, low wages, and large seasonal employment result in a relatively small tax base and relegate these states to a below average economic position.

The general and prevailing attitude of the area can best be described as conservative. This conservatism encompasses all issues and finds expression in such beliefs as against gun control, opposed to the ERA Amendment, anti-unionism, state liquor control, etc.

The rugged western individualism mores leads to self-reliant family units. There is a low tolerance for "outside" control or interference. "Local control" is the basis of government and school governance. Outside monies, especially federal funds, are viewed with suspicion; monies to help alleviate poverty are viewed as destructive because such aid takes away from an individual his initiative and self-worth as well as reducing punishment for transgressions causing his poverty.

On a state basis, the area is marked by fiscally conservative policies. Deficit financing is suspect. State and local budgets seldom exceed revenues, and these states usually end the fiscal year with surpluses.

Generally, there is a high regard for expertise and authority. Reliance on the expert or person in charge is the rule in public policy decision-making. At times, the somewhat paternalistic attitudes often adopted by public leaders lead to conflict where individual rights are concerned, but such conflicts are usually resolved by a friendly compromise.

The highly conservative philosophy conflicts with economic reality within these four states. Each is highly dependent on federal monies to stabilize and maintain their economies. These monies are not out-right grants but come to the states in the form of wages paid to federal employees, the construction and maintenance of military installations, national parks and forests, research monies, massive irrigation projects and large dams, etc. Much of the land in these states is owned and operated by the federal government (about 70% in Utah) with the resulting fees being paid back to the states. In terms of dollars, each of these states receives more money from the federal government than they contribute.

Despite these realities, most people in the area maintain that everyone would be better off if free enterprise could just be allowed to operate without any government controls and regulations and without reliance in the four-state area on federal monies. Economic schizophrenia best describes the impossible reconciliation of economic facts with conservative ideology.

However, slow and imperceptible changes are occurring. Immigration is bringing people with differing background and attitudes. The exodus from rural to urban areas has produced significant changes. Increasing reliance on jobs not associated with basic industries has raised questions about the infallibility of the individual, especially during periods of economic downturn. The spreading of greater wealth among more people has increased the demand by all people for a greater share of the wealth. And, all minority groups--Native Americans, Mexican Americans, Blacks, and women--are exerting considerable effort to improve their political and economic positions. Population growth in the Intermountain Region is occurring at an accelerated rate, tripling the national average according to figures from the U. S. Department of Commerce. Such extensive growth will induce significant changes in this area in the near future.

IV. SCHOOL DISTRICT DATA

As part of our sampling procedure and to better understand Title I administration in the four states, we collected data on school district budgets, enrollments and Title I entitlements. In this section we report some of these data in order to give a state-by-state picture of relative student population distributions and concentrations of disadvantaged students. For simplicity of presentation, data are reported for counties rather than school districts. The maps in this section show county-by-county distributions according to three categories: top one-third (solid), middle one-third (shaded), and bottom one-third (white). In addition to the summary maps, ranking data are provided for each county.*

---

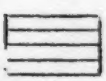
*We were unable to obtain complete enrollment for Montana; hence that state is represented only by entitlement data and not entitlement per student.

We were particularly interested in relative concentrations of poverty among the four states. This interest reflects our initial supposition that the incidence of poverty is disperse. An index of concentration (ratio) can be obtained by dividing Title I entitlement (in dollars) by total student enrollment (not just Title I eligible enrollment). Since Title I entitlement is a function of the number of eligible students, the ratio, though meaningless in financial terms, is an expression of the relative percentage of disadvantaged students.

The absence of relationship between enrollment and Title I entitlement per student suggests that disadvantage is largely a rural phenomenon in three of the four states.

LEGEND FOR FOLLOWING MAPS

HIGHEST ONE-THIRD

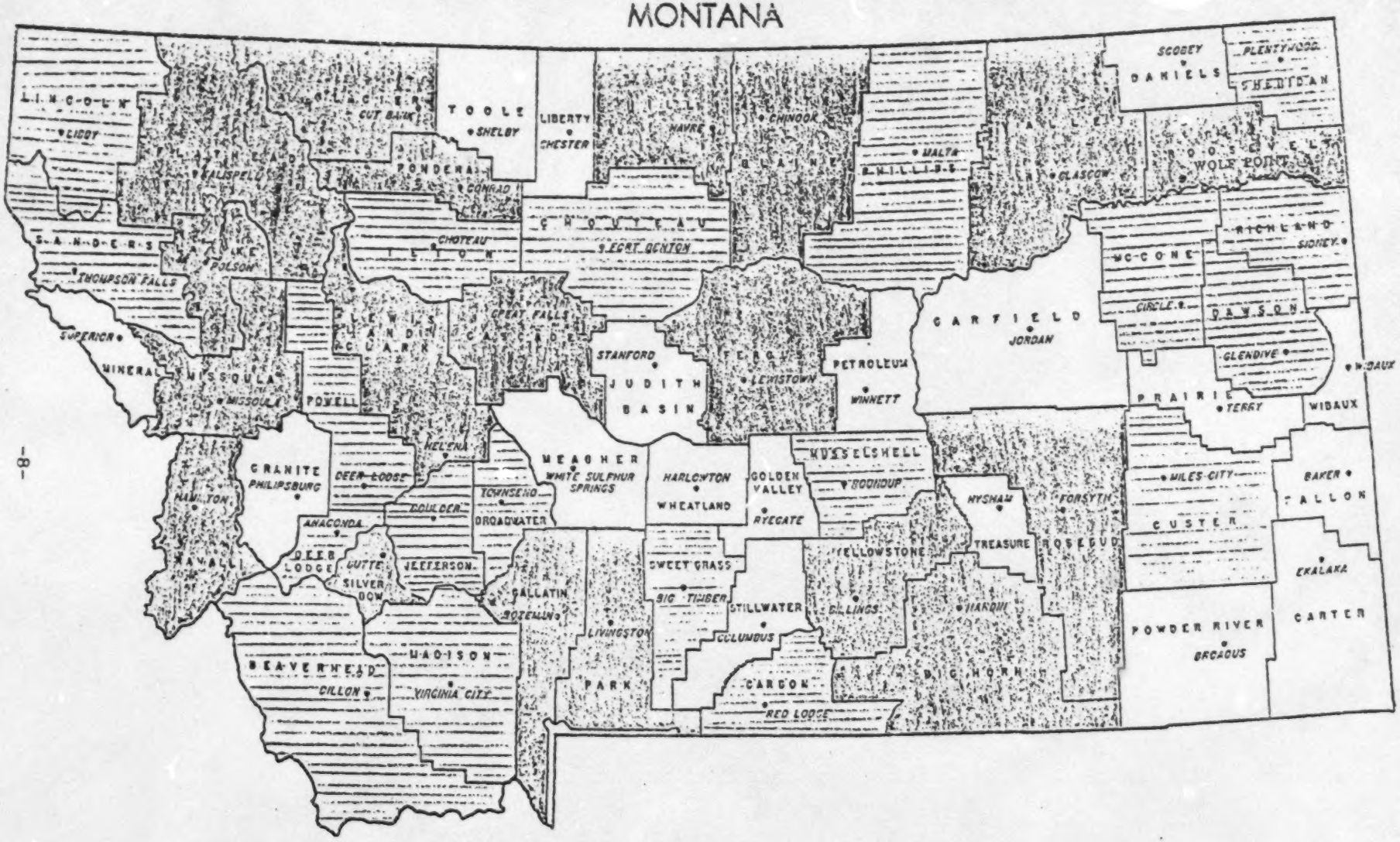


MIDDLE ONE-THIRD

LOWEST ONE-THIRD

ENTITLEMENT BY COUNTIES

MONTANA



11

12

ENTITLEMENT BY COUNTIES

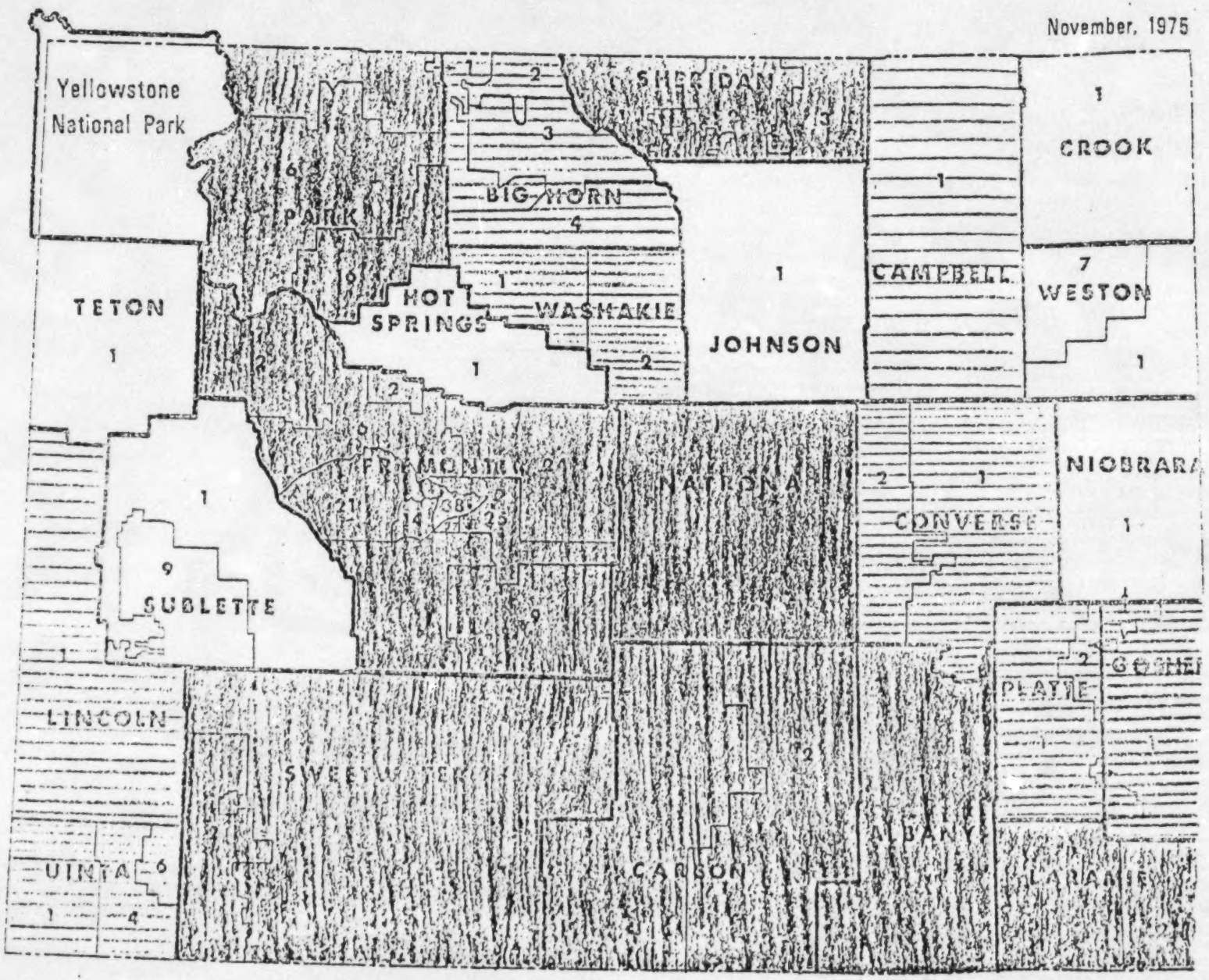
MONTANA

COUNTIES	TITLE I ENTITLEMENTS 1975-1976	ENTITLEMENT RANK	COUNTIES	TITLE I ENTITLEMENTS 1975-1976	ENTITLEMENT RANK
BEAVERHEAD	$ 55,752	24	MINERAL	$ 15,691	50
BIG HORN	182,025	8	MISSOULA	254,022	4
BLAINE	141,226	10	MUSSELSHELL	52,244	26
BROADWATER	32,860	37	PARK	76,797	19
CARBON	46,706	28	PETROLEUM	4,615	55
CARTER	23,260	42	PHILLIPS	47,629	27
CASCADE	462,446	2	PONDERA	83,443	18
CHOUTEAU	44,675	30	POWDER RIVER	22,891	43
CUSTER	72,366	20	POWELL	42,275	31
DANIELS	14,953	51	PRAIRIE	18,645	47
DAWSON	45,967	29	RAVALLI	135,134	11
DEER LODGE	56,121	23	RICHLAND	71,074	21
FALLON	27,876	39	ROOSEVELT	171,686	9
FERGUS	88,058	17	ROSEBUD	101,719	15
FLATHEAD	259,191	3	SANDERS	54,275	25
GALLATIN	95,443	16	SHERIDAN	35,814	33
GARFIELD	14,953	52	SILVER BOW	213,039	6
GLACIER	220,423	5	STILLWATER	27,137	41
GOLDEN VALLEY	3,656	56	SWEET GRASS	34,706	35
GRANITE	21,968	44	TETON	33,414	36
HILL	132,734	12	TOOLE	21,783	45
JEFFERSON	35,445	34	TREASURE	13,291	53
JUDITH BASIN	20,122	46	VALLEY	126,272	13
LAKE	185,532	7	WHEATLAND	17,907	48
LEWIS & CLARK	126,088	14	WIBAUX	16,245	49
LIBERTY	7,568	54	YELLOWSTONE	558,259	1
LINCOLN	59,444	22			
MADISON	41,537	32			
McCONE	32,491	38			
MEAGHER	27,876	40	STATE TOTAL	$4,828,769	

ENROLLMENT BY COUNTIES

WYOMING

November, 1975

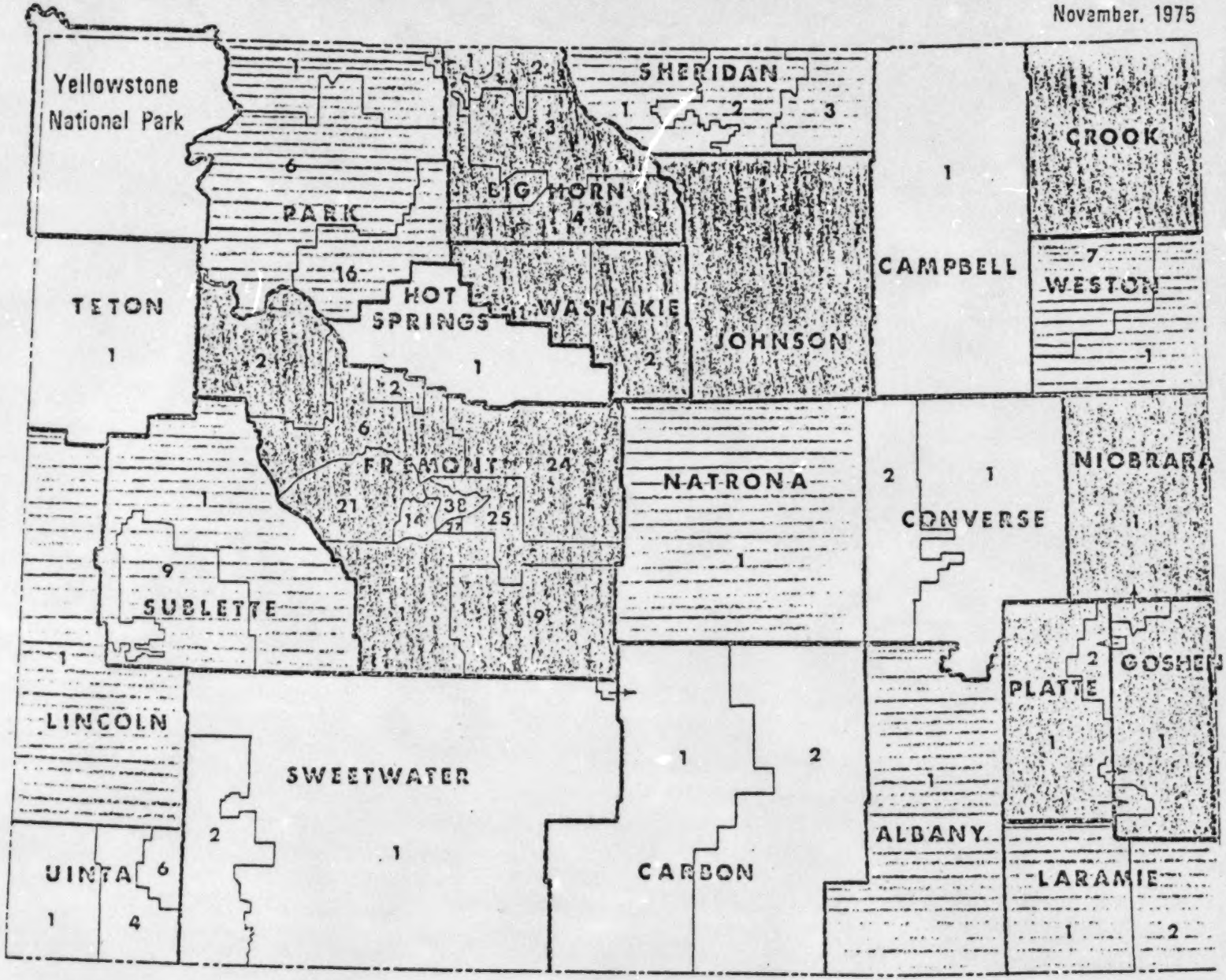


*The Fremont County Planning Committee has until April 15, 1977, to develop an acceptable plan of reorganization for schools in Fremont County.

ENTITLEMENT PER STUDENT BY COUNTIES

WYOMING

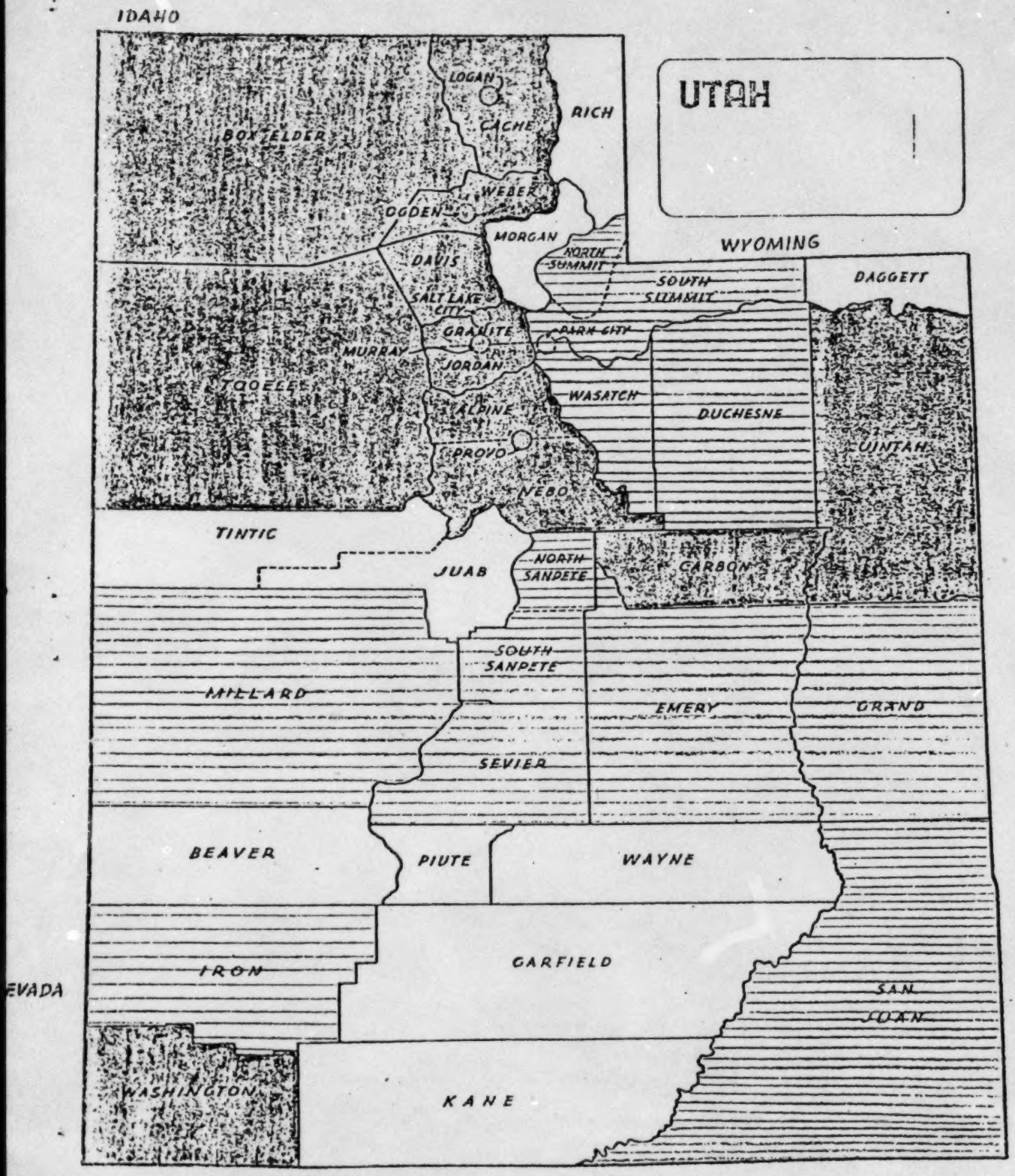
November, 1975



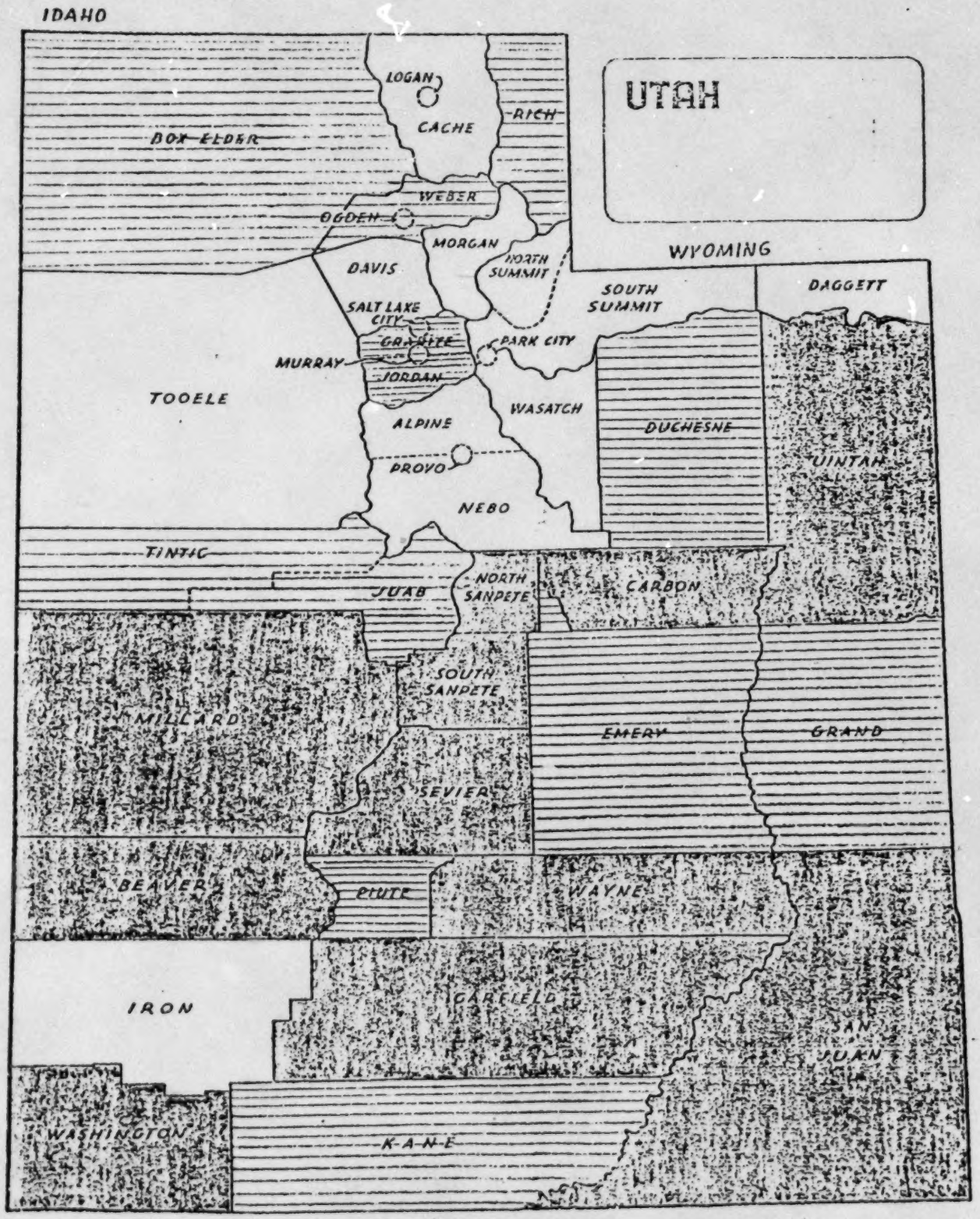
WYOMING

COUNTIES	FALL ENROLLMENT 1975	TITLE I ENTITLEMENTS 1976-1977	ENTITLEMENT PER STUDENT	ENROLLMENT RANK	ENTITLEMENT RANK	RATIO RANK
ALBANY	4,121	$ 118,458	$2,874	7	6	11
BIG HORN	2,783	84,824	3,048	11	8	8
CAMPBELL	3,531	49,710	1,408	9	14	20
CARBON	3,971	71,286	1,795	8	11	18
CONVERSE	2,165	37,441	1,729	14	17	19
CROOK	1,273	39,979	3,141	20	16	7
FREMONT	7,664	242,627	3,166	3	3	6
GOSHEN	2,780	124,380	4,474	12	5	1
HOT SPRINGS	1,123	21,365	1,902	22	21	17
JOHNSON	1,391	49,710	3,574	19	15	4
LARAMIE	14,355	435,543	3,034	1	1	9
LINCOLN	2,795	83,132	2,974	10	9	10
NATRONA	13,412	316,028	2,356	2	2	13
NIOBRARA	621	26,018	4,190	23	19	2
PARK	4,604	126,919	2,757	5	4	12
PLATTE	1,738	58,594	3,371	16	13	5
SHERIDAN	4,139	91,170	2,203	6	7	14
SUBLETTE	1,126	22,633	2,010	21	20	15
SWEETWATER	6,989	65,575	938	4	12	21
TETON	1,536	13,326	868	18	23	23
UINTA	2,374	21,153	891	13	22	22
WASHAKIE	1,994	75,517	3,787	15	10	3
WESTON	1,699	32,576	1,917	17	18	16
STATE TOTAL	88,184	$2,207,964	$2,504			

ENROLLMENT BY COUNTIES



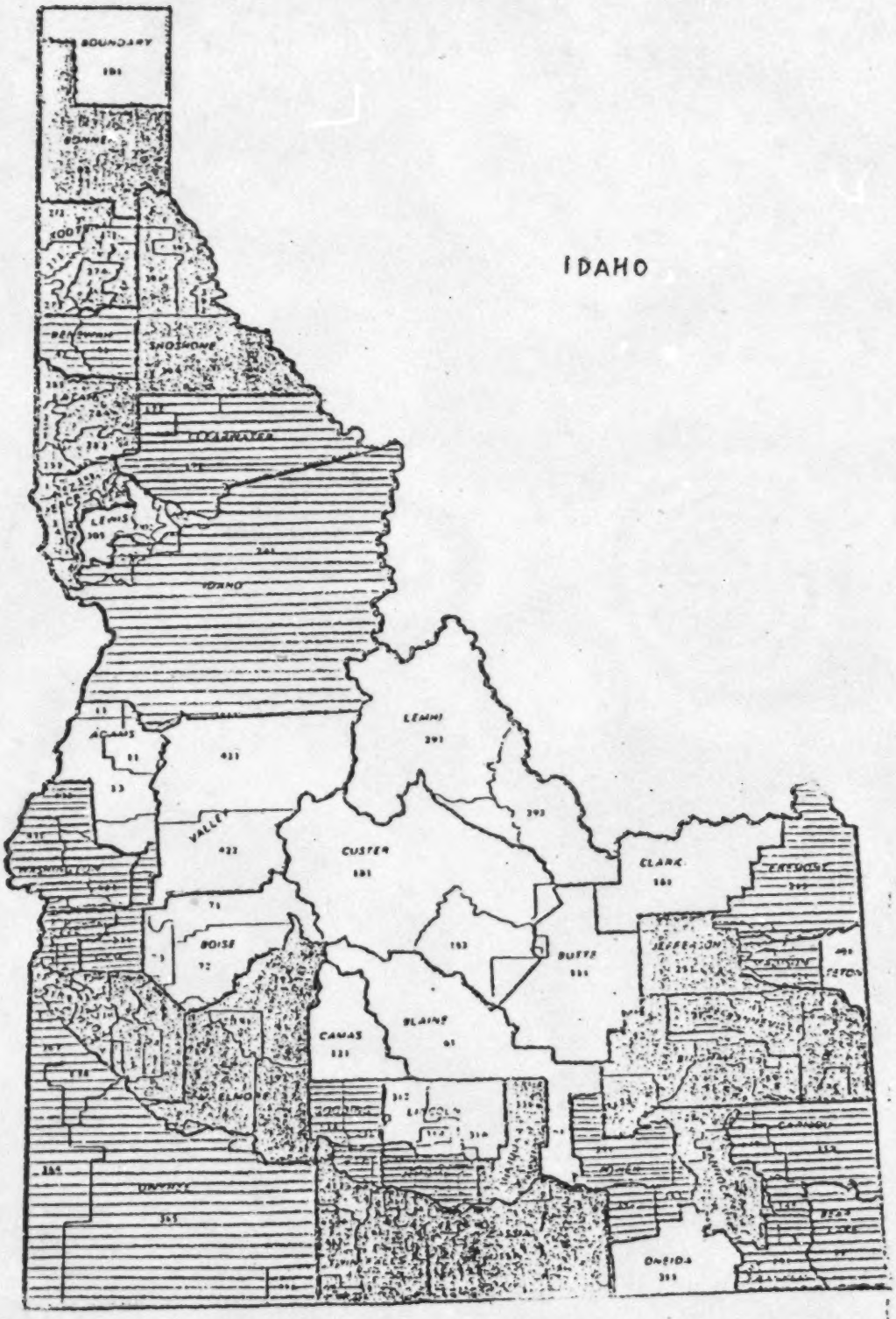
ENTITLEMENT PER STUDENT BY COUNTIES



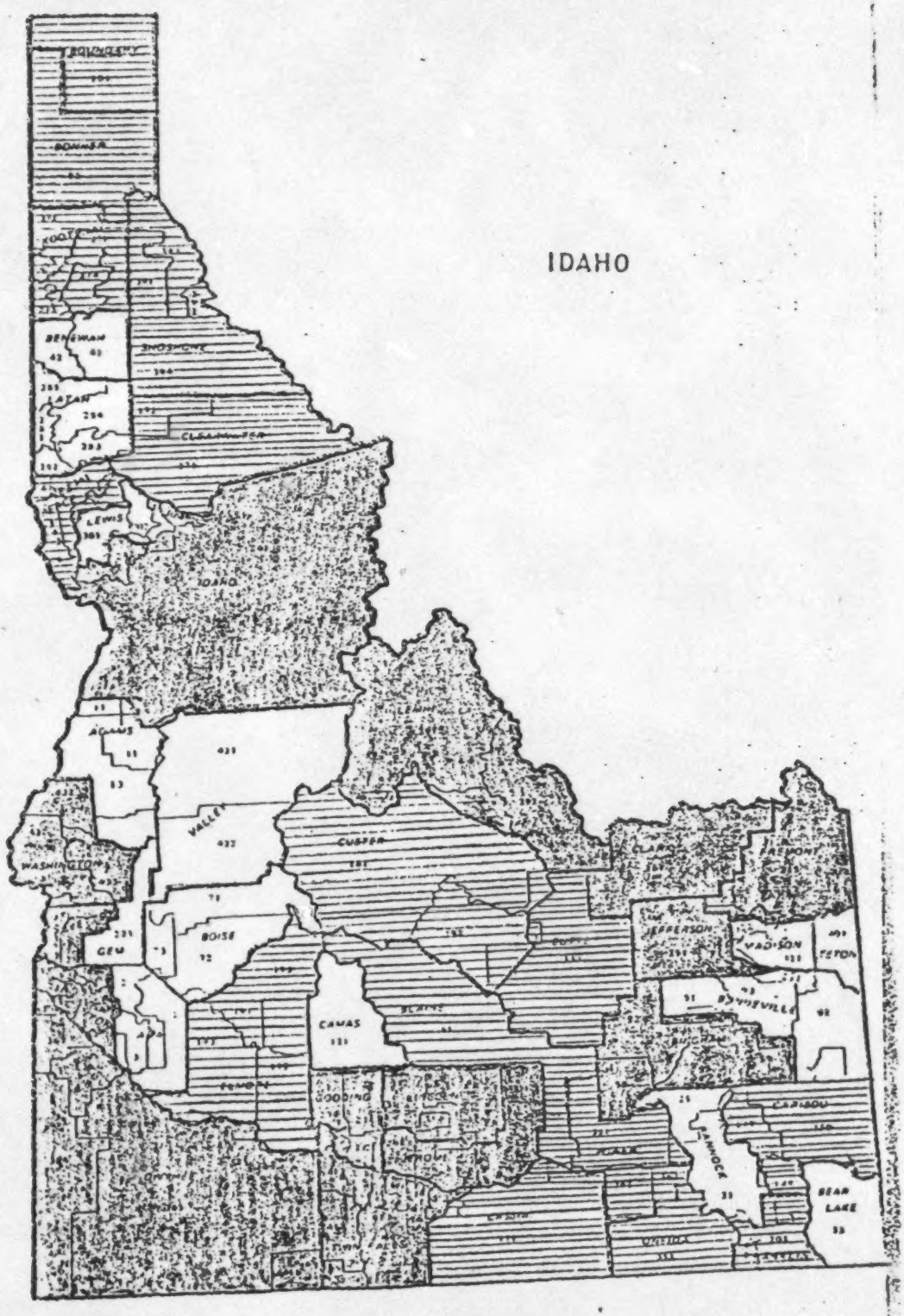
UTAH

COUNTIES	ENROLLMENT FY 1975	TITLE I ENTITLEMENTS FY 1976	ENTITLEMENT PER STUDENT	ENROLLMENT RANK	ENTITLEMENT RANK	RATIO RANK
BEAVER	980	$ 23,238	$2,371	23	23	8
BOX ELDER	8,483	166,922	1,968	6	6	13
CACHE	10,846	151,278	1,395	5	7	23
CARBON	3,940	93,561	2,375	10	10	7
DAGGETT	224	2,828	1,263	29	29	26
DAVIS	35,690	279,468	783	3	5	28
DUCHESNE	3,250	65,614	2,019	12	13	11
EMERY	1,850	36,604	1,979	20	18	12
GARFIELD	889	27,795	3,127	25	20	3
GRAND	1,950	37,971	1,947	17	17	14
IRON	3,414	44,047	1,290	11	16	25
JUAB	1,332	25,669	1,927	22	21	16
KANE	902	15,037	1,667	24	25	20
MILLARD	2,254	49,970	2,217	16	15	10
MORGAN	1,400	6,835	488	21	28	29
PIUTE	391	7,572	1,937	28	26	15
RICH	415	7,290	1,757	27	27	17
SALT LAKE	123,532	2,156,008	1,745	1	1	18
SAN JUAN	2,704	324,123	11,987	15	4	1
SANPETE	3,001	90,220	3,006	14	11	4
SEVIER	3,119	74,119	2,376	13	12	6
SUMMIT	1,949	31,592	1,621	18	19	21
TOOELE	6,447	62,273	966	7	14	27
UINTAH	4,679	126,976	2,714	8	8	5
UTAH	38,700	613,008	1,584	2	2	22
WASATCH	1,889	25,517	1,351	19	22	24
WASHINGTON	4,600	106,623	2,318	9	9	9
WAYNE	439	17,315	3,944	26	24	2
WEBER	33,686	565,620	1,679	4	3	19
STATE TOTAL	302,955	$5,235,093	$1,728			

ENROLLMENT BY COUNTIES



ENTITLEMENT PER STUDENT BY COUNTIES



IDAHO

COUNTIES	FALL ENROLLMENT 1975	TITLE I ENTITLEMENTS 1974-1975	ENTITLEMENT PER STUDENT	ENROLLMENT RANK	ENTITLEMENT RANK	RATIO RANK
ADA	32,199	$ 362,786	$1,127	1	2	36
ADAMS	739	8,901	1,204	40	39	34
BANNOCK	13,668	142,674	1,044	4	8	38
BEAR LAKE	1,651	7,000	424	30	40	44
BENEWAH	1,828	19,700	1,078	27	32	37
BINGHAM	9,300	245,385	2,639	7	3	6
BLAINE	1,619	26,883	1,660	31	30	21
BOISE	473	4,740	1,002	42	43	39
BONNER	4,532	61,880	1,365	14	19	30
BONNEVILLE	14,859	200,370	1,348	3	5	31
BOUNDARY	1,532	29,298	1,912	32	29	16
BUTTE	901	14,155	1,571	36	35	24
CAMAS	224	2,918	1,303	44	44	32
CANYON	16,342	700,981	4,289	2	1	2
CARIBOU	2,217	33,872	1,528	25	25	26
CASSIA	4,842	76,712	1,584	10	15	22
CLARK	226	4,797	2,123	43	42	12
CLEARWATER	2,673	41,454	1,551	20	23	25
CUSTER	861	12,727	1,478	37	37	27
ELMORE	4,667	87,731	1,880	12	13	17
FRANKLIN	2,242	38,018	1,696	24	24	20
FREMONT	2,515	56,513	2,247	23	20	10
GEM	2,642	32,100	1,215	21	26	33
GOODING	2,543	49,771	1,957	22	21	15
IDAHO	3,124	89,394	2,862	18	12	5
JEFFERSON	3,761	75,997	2,021	15	16	14
JEROME	3,004	61,994	2,064	19	18	13
KOOTENAI	10,451	145,442	1,392	6	7	29
LATAH	4,562	31,524	691	13	28	43
LEMHI	1,409	31,750	2,253	34	27	9
LEWIS	1,465	12,920	882	33	36	40
LINCOLN	711	15,214	2,140	41	33	11
MADISON	3,497	41,698	1,192	16	22	35

(Continued next page)

IDAHO

Cont.

COUNTIES	FALL ENROLLMENT 1975	TITLE I ENTITLEMENTS 1974-1975	ENTITLEMENT PER STUDENT	ENROLLMENT RANK	ENTITLEMENT RANK	RATIO RANK
MINIDOKA	4,725	$ 174,238	$3,688	11	6	3
NEZPERCE	7,333	126,436	1,724	8	10	19
ONIEDA	780	14,319	1,836	38	34	18
OWYHEE	2,171	133,913	6,168	26	9	1
PAYETTE	3,486	91,060	2,612	17	11	7
POWER	1,680	24,199	1,440	29	31	28
SHOSHONE	4,991	78,618	1,575	9	14	23
TETON	755	6,575	871	39	41	42
TWIN FALLS	10,533	244,231	2,319	5	4	8
VALLEY	1,083	9,485	876	35	38	41
WASHINGTON	1,800	65,094	3,616	28	17	4
STATE TOTAL	196,616	$3,735,467	$1,900			

V. POLICY QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Data were collected to address eleven policy questions. They were:

1. Are federal, state and local compensatory education policies complementary or contradictory in these four states?

2. Are federal and state policies consistent with the compensatory education requirements of these four states?

3. Is there agreement on compensatory education policy objectives among compensatory education decision actors?

4. Do these four states have separate compensatory education policies which elaborate, modify, supplement or extend federal policies?

5. What interests and actors seem to dominate compensatory education policy decision in these four states?

6. To what extent do local agencies interact with respect to compensatory education policy and practice in each of the four states? Do local agencies share programs or information across state lines?

7. To what extent do state agencies interact with respect to compensatory education policy and practice in the four state region?

8. What is the meaning of federal-state interaction to compensatory education programs in the region?

9. Do state-local interactions with regard to compensatory education differ in the four states?

10. What part does federal policy and administrative regulation play in defining state-local interaction?

11. Are there organized compensatory interests, e.g., parents of disadvantaged, teachers, poverty agencies?

Title I policy and decision systems in the four states have been difficult to understand. This is not because there is an extensive policy influencing network or because there are major policy statements issued by the states or because there are many actors in the Title I system. Neither is it because the Title I system is unusually subtle or covert. Rather, it is because the system is passive. There are few actors asserting interests. The few aggressive local Title I officers are, for the most part, left alone and allowed "to do their thing." Conflict in the system is minimal, and the tension which characterizes federal-state-local relationships in other parts of the country is not apparent here.

In many ways this is strange. Title I monies are important revenue sources in these four states. The federal government and federally-funded programs are important to school systems and state departments in the intermountain west. Wyoming receives the largest share of educational revenue from the federal government of any of the fifty states. The federal contribution to Wyoming amounts to approximately 30% of the total expenditures for education in that

state. Utah school districts are growing in enrollment, some quite rapidly. Yet several years ago the legislature and the State Department of Education agreed that no new personnel would be employed unless the position was funded by outside sources (meaning federal dollars). Thus, the only way the Utah State Department of Education can expand is by the aggressive solicitation of federal program dollars.

Title I revenues are important also because they generate positions. These positions serve as administrative proving and training grounds. They allow for promotion rewards to deserving teachers, and they allow districts and state departments to "hold" talent until a regular position opening can be arranged. We could find little evidence of Title I interaction among local units. Typically, state and local education agency interaction over Title I begins with an annual meeting in the state capitol where state directors announce estimates of state entitlement, present changes in federal guidelines, and state the State Department of Education's program criteria for the next funding year. This meeting generally includes the director's estimate of what policy and guideline changes will be made in the next several years. These meetings are purely administrative and are not devoted to examination of program or instructional alternatives.

In our interviews with representatives of state department and local education agencies, we were unable to find much evidence of comprehensive Title I planning or even very much serious attention to compensatory education either conceptually or methodologically. Further, it appears that there is no institutional and little professional commitment to compensatory education as an educational problem or practice. Though we encountered technical competence, i.e., the ability to design and implement a classic pull-out Title I program, we did not encounter very many individuals in the four states who could or would articulate the unique needs of Title I children in their region. Questions like "Tell us about Title I children in your district or in your state? usually brought circuitous responses or standard abstract discussions reminiscent of recent Saturday Review articles on compensatory education.

Furthermore, we found little explicit evidence of greed concerning the use of Title I monies. Perhaps it was an example of strategically misrepresenting the importance of Title I income. But it may be that because Title I is not an integral part of the educational program of the districts and the state departments of education, there is no great alarm about the disruption that would occur if it were terminated.

When questioned about appropriateness or adequacy of Federal Title I policy, state and local people supplied the usual complaints about bureaucratic overload (e.g., too much paper work, too much regulation specificity), worry over year-to-year instability (e.g., funding and program requirements are not totally predictable) and other responses which reflected, particularly at the local level, concern that Title I program control abridged the right of local control. Aside from these usual and expected criticisms (i.e., we expected to hear them and the respondents expected us to expect to hear them), we identified two concerns which seem to be more substantive: comparability and concentration. Comparability is probably one of the most controversial aspects of federal policy in compensatory education. The major problem with comparability occurs in these states where there are vast differences in the size of schools within the same school district. For example, one district with a large Title I program has two elementary schools that enroll over 100 students. Under existing

regulations these two schools must be comparable in district expenditures per pupil. (One school enrolls approximately 900 students. It is a target school. The other about 105 students. Title I policy requires that the district and the state contribute an equal amount to the educational operating costs of these two schools.) Yet, the funding practice of the state of Wyoming is such that the state contribution is greater for pupils in small schools than in large schools. Each of the other states has some form of adjustment or supplement for very small schools. If there is a greater cost to conducting educational programs in small schools, as most in these four states believe, then the effect of these comparability requirements is that districts must channel a larger share of local revenue to the larger Title I school in order to compensate for the state's small school adjustment. Most districts in this circumstance argue, perhaps rightly, that this requirement disadvantages students in small schools. (n.b., we understand that the Office of Education may soon change the comparability requirements so that schools need only be comparable with those in similar size brackets.)

Another controversial feature of Title I policy lies in the declaration of target schools and the concentration of Title I inputs. In most cases this concentration requirement has been interpreted to mean that Title I programs will be limited to the school or schools in the district with a disproportionate number of disadvantaged children. Inevitably, there are Title I eligible children who reside elsewhere in the district and attend non-Title I targeted schools. This seems to be a major source of discontent particularly among district level administrators who would like to provide Title I compensatory services to all educationally disadvantaged children in the district, not just those attending the so-called target schools. We will deal with the meaning of this concern in a subsequent section.

These frequently expressed criticisms of federal policy notwithstanding most district and state officers express general satisfaction with Title I policy. Several state directors told us that they were very comfortable with Title I policy and regulations and said that they "could do pretty much as they wanted to." On looking carefully at our data we have some concerns about this uncritical acceptance of federal policy and its appropriateness to the four intermountain states which will be discussed in subsequent sections of this report.

Table I provides a state by state summary of our data for policy questions 4-11. It will be noted from the Table that the situation in each of the four states is very similar. None of the states attempt explicit modification or amendment of federal policy though each does nodify federal policy to some degree through selective interpretation of the regulations. Of the four states, Wyoming and Montana probably engage more aggressively in this kind of implicit modification. Utah and Idaho, on the other hand, have attempted to supplement federal compensatory policy in the form of their own legislation which provides state funds for compensatory education with considerably fewer strings attached. In each of the four states the Title I decision network is fully dominated by the state department and local professionals. There is a noticeable lack of meaningful influence exercised by parents or community action groups. Many of the parent advisory committees are chaired by parents of students who qualify for Title I not because of economic disadvantage but by virtue of being educationally sub-standard. Interaction among local Title I programs is virtually non-existent in the four states. They seem seldom to share materials, professional encouragement or other messages which might be

present in a Title I network. Communication across state lines seems also to be non-existent. State directors do interact, albeit informally.

The nature of vertical interactions, that is, the interactions between federal Title I officers, state officers, and the local Title I directors is somewhat more complex than it seems in its formal structure. Inasmuch as there is little horizontal communication, (e.g., district to district), most communication in the system is of a vertical nature. District personnel are most likely to talk to the state director or one of his subordinates about Title I matters. Federal policy and guidelines are generally transmitted to the state director who in turn transmits them to the local district. Vertical communication systems are usually characterized by information flowing upwards and control or compliance messages flowing downward. This is true of the Title I structure in these four states. The state directors make decisions about the types of programs which will be funded and act as superordinate officers. Though they are subordinate to federal officers in this system, they derive power through their ability to interpret and elaborate necessarily vague directions from the federal level.

In addition to the requests and performance information that flow upward and the directives that flow downward, there is a separate compliance or monitoring system in the form of federal program and fiscal audits. In each of the states we have been told "war stories" about federal audits. Each fiscal audit seems to reveal expenditure exceptions, and each district seems to have been threatened at one time or another with having to return to the federal treasury large sums of money which had already been expended. The importance of the federal audit cannot be minimized in this system, for it is a major mechanism for insuring compliance with federal regulations in systems where there is no other compliance mechanism at work.*

Administrative Arrangements

In each of the four states Title I is treated as an administrative function at the state department of education. There is a state Title I director who is responsible to the federal programs officer. If the Title I director has subordinate staff, they are in all cases administrative subordinates, e.g., the state is divided into regions with one regional Title I administrator. In no case did the Title I office or unit have within it technical assistance facilities, (i.e., personnel with specialties in compensatory reading instruction, development of compensatory educational programs and so forth). Technical assistance is obtained through regular state department supervisors or experts in the particular field, e.g., reading, testing. In most cases there is some arrangement whereby a portion of the salaries for these state department supervisors or experts is charged to Title I. We found little evidence of their active involvement in the design of Title I programs or the assistance in solving Title I instructional problems however.

Though Title I funds accrue in the districts on the basis of an entitlement, (i.e., the number of economically disadvantaged children in the district) each of the states has established a redistribution system whereby the school districts with very small entitlements are encouraged not to apply but to release their funds for use in other, larger programs. The incentives not to apply are

---

* For a discussion of compliance mechanisms see Amatai Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations, Free Press.

TABLE I

SUMMARY DATA BY STATE

	UTAH	WYOMING	MONTANA	IDAHO
4. Does state have separate compensatory policy which supplements Federal policy?	Does not try to modify federal policy, but has established state compensatory funding with fewer constraints.	Implicit via selective interpretation of Federal Title I policy influenced by director.	Implicit, by SEA rulings.	Program consolidation efforts are beginning to link Title I to other decisions inputs.
5. What interests and actors dominate compensatory education policy?	SEA and LEA Professionals. LEA stronger	SEA and LEA Professionals. SEA Strong	SEA and LEA Professionals. SEA Strong	SEA and LEA Professionals. SEA Strong
6. How do local agencies interact with respect to compensatory education policy? Is information shared across states?	Little direct LEA contact. No observable networks or channels.	Little direct LEA contact. LEA contacts are state mediated.	Little direct LEA interaction. State divided into 3 administrative regions.	Little direct LEA interaction. Three administrative regions.
7. How do state agencies interact with respect to compensatory education policy?	No regular contact. Limited to informal interaction of state directors.			

Continued next page

Continued:

TABLE I

SUMMARY DATA BY STATE

	UTAH	WYOMING	MONTANA	IDAHO
8. What is meaning of Federal-State interactions to compensatory education programs?	Information advantage to SEA.	Federal guidelines and threat of federal audit major element in state director's power. State director is Federal Title I advocate.	Federal guidelines minimize LEA challenges to SEA rulings.	Pro forma.
9. What is the nature of state-local interaction re: compensatory education?	Formal, SEA provides entitlement data, etc. Annual meeting to announce requirement changes, etc. (Admin.)	1) Title I. Advocacy. Mostly formal administrative. 2) SEA as reformer	(District Advocacy System) Administrative and fiscal emphasis	Mostly fiscal and administrative.
10. What part does Federal Policy and administrative regulation play in state-local interaction?	Allows SDE to assume empathic posture and get mileage out of small favors (strategic leniency)	Threat of Federal audit important element. State director's power flows from guidelines and audit. Able to be most aggressive, advocate director.	Allows SEA to act in LEA advocate role.	Makes districts dependent on SEA and compliant.
11. Are compensatory education interests organized?	No.	No. Efforts are underway to "professionalize" Title I staffs, reduce influence of general administration.	No.	No.

different in each of the states. In some cases the state director makes it known that he simply will not approve a program of less than a certain amount, e.g., $2,500. In other cases, required paper work and administrative overload serves on a cost benefit basis to discourage small programs. In some instances, state directors employ direct persuasion. In each state the larger programs inevitably receive more money to operate Title I than their straight entitlement.

District Title I Programs

The vast majority of Title I programs in the four states are of a classic pull-out design, i.e., eligible children are taken from their regular classrooms for intensive Title I funded remedial instruction. This is to be expected given current Title I regulations which require that the program be supplementary and concentrated yet with the students being integrated within the regular school program. We did encounter one alternative design in Wyoming wherein the Title I program was fully integrated in flexible school-without-walls design. This alternative program, though flourishing now, has required considerable lobbying by district personnel to maintain its accreditation and has required review by Washington for approval after the state director doubted its legality.

Until very recently in all but the very largest of districts Title I has been administered as an add-on function for a regular district administrator. This is changing now with the relaxation of Title I standards which formerly prohibited the use of money for program administration. In most of the districts, we encountered recently hired directors of Title I, even in the smaller programs.

Title I programmatic decisions are universally made by a small number of district personnel: the Title I director, some or all of the Title I teachers, and the principals of the Title I target schools. Programs are locally approved generally after review by the district administrator responsible, e.g., district superintendent, assistant superintendent for instruction.

Parent advisory committees required by federal guidelines were a source of frustration to the local programs. In each case staff reported having expended great effort trying to establish a viable parent advisory committee but were generally met with failure. The typical report was that when a parent advisory committee would be gathered for program planning the parents would say to the school personnel, "You are the experts; you plan the program."

VI. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

An understanding of the analytic judgments made in the following pages must be tempered by a key distinction. That is the distinction between a conception of Title I as a congressional act and as a statement of national education policy. Evaluations, needs-assessments, and educational agency reports which define Title I as a specific piece of categorical legislation with attendant procedural and substantive guidelines are in great abundance. Studies of Title I as policy, however, have little precedent. The study reported in this document defines Title I as policy and those who consider the conclusions which follow should view them as relative to the two part definition below:

1. Operational: Title I operates as a representative exemplar of federally initiated national social policy.

2. Substantive: There is an inherent inequity in the American social system and it is incumbent upon society to redress that inequity with a policy of educational compensation.

This study was concerned with the impact of Title I, as national education policy, on four mountain west states: Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, and Montana. Our general conclusion is that Title I has not been internalized, integrated, or institutionalized in this region of the country or in any of the four individual states. This conclusion, the rejection of Title I as social policy, rests upon two basic findings. First, consistent with the operational portion of our definition, the idea of federalism as an appropriate vehicle for making social policy dramatically contradicts the popular ideology of the region. Second, consistent with substantive portion of our definition, the idea of compensatory education translates into welfarism which is incongrous with the value system in these western states.

1. Anti-federalism

The general public sentiment in this western section of the country rejects a federalistic conception of domestic policy on both philosphic and practical grounds. People are inclined to take a strong "states rights" position on most social issues. They identify the growth of the federal government in size and power as the major social ill in the nation. They see such growth as continuously usurping rights guaranteed to states by the Constitution. The federal government is not viewed as a working partner, but rather as an adversary. The federal government must be prohibited from further regulation and control of affairs which fall under the prerogatives of state decision making. Finally, the idea of national education policy directly challenges "local control" of public education. The principle of "local control" is deeply ingrained in the philosophy of government in these western states. As an example of non-acceptance of federally imposed policies, the Utah State Textbook Commission always begins its meeting with a prayer.

Several recent events characterize the strength of this philosophy. All four of the states were bastions of strength in Ronald Reagan's drive for the Republican party's nomination for president. Two of the four states removed from office Democratic senators who held sizeable seniority. Both elected conservative Republicans who made the central themes of their campaign anti-federalism. Both elected candidates took strong positions supporting the anti-abortion amendment, against common situs picketing, and against the Humphrey-Hawkins bill. Gerald Ford carried all four states by sizeable margins.

Beyond this deep felt suspicion that federal policy emanates from ulterior motives, Title I stands as an exemplar of the inability of the federal government to make sensible "national" policy. Title I only concerns itself with definitions of educational priority found in urban industrial centers. It fails to recognize that states such as these, with small populations and large numbers of rural school districts, face quite different educational needs. As an example, Title I uses the individual child and his economic condition as the unit of assessment in determining the level of resource allotment. This formula corresponds with the environment in heavily populated, industrial areas. Education officials in the mountain-west frequently challenge this method.

Many believe the unit of analysis for educational deprivation should be the individual school district. Sparsely populated and geographically isolated school districts tend to be generally disadvantaged. The local tax base usually is low and the ability to share resources with other districts is prohibited by distance and location. These districts seldom enroll enough target children, as defined in Title I, to qualify for the size of allotment necessary for any substantive impact. If Title I considered district variables such as ability of local communities to fund, isolation from cooperative opportunities, cost of student transportation, ability to recruit and retain professional staff, and economic opportunity in the local environment, then these districts could qualify for sizeable allotments. The fact that Title I does not consider the educational environment of such districts corroborates the feeling that federal policy simply reflects the control of government by eastern establishment interests. Most states studied found that allotments of $2500 or less do not accomplish any educational growth. Yet given current funding formulas, many of the educationally and economically poorest districts do not qualify for more.

A social policy, such as Title I, which fails to recognize the educational demographies of states such as those in this study, creates further dilemmas. It forces State Departments of Education into a serious quandry. As the designated leader and decision maker in Title I, they must attempt to maximize resources. This maximization must occur within guidelines that do not correspond with their state's educational needs. To maximize these resources they must concentrate attention on the few quasi-urban centers which exist. In so doing they must politically offend the majority of districts. This situation makes their potential for statewide leadership exceptionally vulnerable. At the same time, if they challenge Title I in the interest of small districts, then they risk the resources that can be obtained for the few large districts. Given this dilemma, they must take a low leadership posture and simply manage Title I and use federal disinterest as the explanation for the inability of Title I to respond effectively to statewide needs.

2. Anti-Welfarism

As defined earlier, the following argument underlies Title I: a) there has been a systematic exclusion of certain people in our society from economic opportunity; b) this exclusion forces these people to remain at the lowest economic levels and this circumstance places their children at severe educational disadvantage; c) therefore, it is incumbent upon society to redress that systematic exclusion by supplying schools with resources to compensate for the disadvantage and provide children with the necessary tools to break the cycle. This position seriously contradicts the social perspective found in the mountain west.

The idea of "rugged individualism" is deeply ingrained in the cultures of the four states studied. Values in these western states still hold strong roots in the frontier spirit. The idea that society and its system of exclusion could explain peoples continued economic disadvantage does not find easy acceptance. When people suffer economic troubles due to natural disaster or personal tragedy, local agencies and community groups immediately respond with help. However, a continued existence in poverty simply reflects the lack of initiative and ambition to capitalize on natural opportunities in the environment.

Concomitant with this frontieristic life view, the notion of the extended family retains support and strength. The idea that one should look outside the family for help is not popular. The strong influence of Mormonism in the area may account for much of this continued emphasis on the family as the number one problem-solving unit.

Many people in these states have suffered hard times. The test of a person's character is his resilience. Those who do not overcome adversity, simply stated, have not earned the right to share in social goods. Given this social Darwinism point of view, the idea that society failed people and must provide special resources and opportunity sounds highly discordant. Title I, therefore, calls for social welfarism, an idea foreign to the western states mentality. The western mind refuses to accept the basic correlation underlying Title I. That is, that economic deprivation is philosophically denied, the shortcomings in a child's education exists in his home not in the school. If such children wish to succeed, they must have the will to meet the school's demands. Therein lies the basic conflict, Title I, as social policy, conceives of education and economic opportunity as an obligation of society at large. In the mountain west, one's education and economic opportunity are conceived as responsibilities of the individual.

A Modest Response

Each of the states studied has Title I monies and programs. This fact seems, without further examination, to contradict the ideological considerations discussed in the preceding paragraphs. To resolve such a contradiction, one must refer to the distinction made earlier between Title I as social policy and as a piece of categorical legislation. Our interviews and observations lead to the following conclusion: in the sense of social policy, Title I has not been adopted in the mountain west; as a piece of specific legislation, the mountain west states have utilized Title I because they are poor, polite, and law-abiding.

This conclusion suggests that a forecast of future response to Title I in this region will comply with the letter of the law, but will reject the spirit underlying it. Title I represents three basic factors: extra resources, the national government, and the law. Each of these states faces a situation in which resources generated from in-state revenues provide for minimum educational expenditure. Opportunities for additional resources, such as Title I, must be pursued. As a matter of practice, federal monies are regularly solicited. The old saying that, "beggars cannot be choosers" is not far from an accurate description of how these states must view federal funding. Beyond this basic economic need, these states simply do not like to behave in a manner which seems impolite. A serious challenge to Title I might be viewed as socially inappropriate, even though justified on the grounds of sound evidence. These are strongly patriotic and nationalistic states. One may acceptably criticize particular officials as ineffective or impractical, but the government as a symbol of the Constitution and the idea of the United States is sacrosanct. This is "America--love it or leave it" country. Further, people in the mountain west firmly support the law. One may not approve of a law, but he must obey it. Title I, as a representative of the law, must be obeyed. Therefore, on economic, protocol, and legal grounds, Title I will be adopted in the mountain west. This adoption must, however, be qualified as formal and limited.

The patterns of Title I practice observed in the mountain west reflect the tertiary nature of this adoption. We found little evidence of movement to

professionalize compensatory educators. In local school districts, Title I resources tend to be used to solidify the status quo. Most frequently these extra monies are used toward the following activities: 1) to benefit the general educational program of the district; 2) to reward teachers who have a history of dedication and loyalty to the district; 3) to supplement the pool of resources that pay administrative overhead for regular management of the district; and 4) to maintain present staff who have had their regular resources depleted through a decrease in student enrollment.

At the local district level, control of Title I remains nested in the general administration. This control prohibits the development of a select or different body of compensatory educators. Maintenance of such control obtains in large measure because coalitions, typical of urban centers, between Title I parents and educators have not developed. Two factors seem to explain the failure of compensatory educators and parents to coalesce. First, districts do not use Title I to attract and recruit educators committed to the compensatory education ideology. As noted above, the teaching loyalist is used in Title I. Second, Title I parents have not organized to challenge either the schools or their Title I programs. Parents have not become sophisticated in questioning or understanding educational programs. In fact, many have been socialized to accept the "blame syndrome" which suggests they cause their children to fail. It is true,in accord with Title I guidelines, that Parent Advisory Councils have been formed. These bodies do not function as forums for policy and program discussion and debate, but usually act as quasi-P.T.A.'s that rubber stamp the "educational wisdom" of the professional staff. Even if parents would wish to challenge the system, they have not been trained in the organizational understanding or political skills to accomplish effectively the task.

State departments of education in the mountain west display little interest in developing Title I as an educational policy. Little if any attention has been given to defining compensatory problems in an agrarian setting characterized by primary industries. Distribution of state entitlement resources has been to existing administrative functions and technical services. Title I has become another federal program which must be managed. The primary concern has been one of fiscal accountability to the federal government. Little effort has been expended to create or imagine a Title I effort in the spirit of social policy. State departments do not conceive of their role in Title I as leadership. None of the state departments have developed or plan to develop comprehensive compensatory education policy. In short, their response has been economic, polite, and legal.

This modest response to Title I seems consistent with the ideology of the mountain west. That is, perhaps, a predictable outcome since most teachers and administrators in these states are locals. Title I, as social policy, is not in accord with their value system. They do not place high regard on outside expertise and strongly resist being dominated by the "liberal eastern establishment". Title I, as policy, challenges the conservative roots of their ideology and its acceptance would be tantamount to social heresy. The imbred selection process for personnel deeply implants this resistance and stands as a formidable foe of change.

Economies of Scale

Examined closely there are certain scaler properties which are assumed in Title I design. First, it is assumed that there will be sufficient eligible

children at a given site to generate revenue which allows for the construction of an appropriately staffed program, i.e., there will be sufficient revenue to allow for the hiring of staff trained in remediation and that there would be sufficient demand in terms of numbers of students to allow these experts time to be used efficiently. Assumed, also, is that there would be economically disadvantaged parents in sufficient quantity to be organized into an effective decision influence in the local school unit.

In rural school districts, there are virtually no economics of scale in Title I because:

a) Title I grants or entitlements are generally small;

b) populations of disadvantaged children are disbursed over large geographic regions; and

c) because district schools are widely separated and district boundaries encompass a large territory, often hundreds of square miles.

Given these circumstances with little concentration of economic disadvantage, it is difficult to construct programs of sufficient size to realize the advantages of a specialized program staff. Consequently, the districts engage in a make-do program using presently available resources. They are generally unable to import compensatory expertness.

VII. RECOMMENDATIONS

Over the last 12 years compensatory education as defined by ESEA Title I has become increasingly standardized with methodologies more and more determined by constraints placed in ever expanding guidelines. We recognize that the expansion of regulations has been in large part a function of abuses of Title I entitlement monies. But the consequence of many of these efforts has been a regularization of Title I programs. We found this apparent in the four states where Title I instructional programs vary little. This standardization creates two problems as we view Title I operations in the intermountain west. First, a given lack of understanding and experimentation in these four states prevents development of conceptual and methodological resources needed to displace the "ho'hum" character of Title I programs. Second, methods which are appropriate to areas with concentrated poverty may not be appropriate to the disbursed agrarian poor of the intermountain west.

If the Congress and the U. S. Office of Education wish to continue Title I as now configured, we would offer two recommendations to make program expectations more congruent with the needs of the intermountain west:

1. We would urge that there be a reduction of reporting and paper work requirements in the funding of on-going Title I programs in districts where there have been no significant changes in demography or economic characteristics. Annual need assessments are a case in point. Certainly, such continuing study is needed in areas where the population is rapidly or regularly shifting. It is reasonable to assume that regular needs assessments are valuable in program design and planning and, where staff and resources are available, the expectation may be justified. In the relatively small programs of the intermountain west, however, we question the need, indeed the defensibility, of constant need assessments. If anything, they may serve to build in program

discontinuity; most certainly, they siphon resources which are all too limited now in these small programs. It seems reasonable to expect districts in the intermountain west to do regular informal analysis of their client compensatory populations and to draw plans for those programs on the basis of those observations. Formal, reporting obligations might be limited to three-year cycles, however.

Similarly, we doubt that there is any great advantage to having these smaller programs submit completely rewritten annual Title I applications. It is difficult enough for these districts to design good programs given their remoteness and lack of technical expertise. They should be encouraged to undergo a process of program evolution and refinement rather than regular design. The requirement in some states that these programs submit annually a "new" proposal seems to set the tone for discontinuity rather than continuity and evolutionary development. We would urge that most programs in the intermountain west be relieved of filing new proposals and be allowed to submit a proposal which would be good for three years subject to state department review of evaluation reports. Program adjustment addendums could be submitted on an annual basis.

Such a recommendation, we believe, makes sense in light of present practice as well. We found considerable evidence that Title I people in districts went through the annual motions of needs assessments and Title I proposal preparation but in reality made generally only small adjustments in their program objectives or design.

2. We urge that the states explore ways to encourage program consolidation.

In the previous section of the report we discussed the problem of economics of scale which are implicit in the conception of Title I. We also observed that where the unit of operation is the school district that economies of scale were not obtainable in many intermountain west districts. Entitlements are small, sometimes as little as $2500. Districts work in isolation. Relatively few attempts have been made in any of these states to encourage the sharing of information, talent or program know-how. The problem confronted is not unlike the problem which earlier faced and continues to face districts in planning for the education and training of the physically and mentally handicapped. It would do well to study the systems developed in response to the needs presented by the handicapped in search for ways of reducing the disadvantage of few students and small amounts of money.

We can imagine several kinds of responses which would enable an increase in the level of expertness available to students that might be explored. One might be a policy of encouraging regionalization of Title I programs. We see nothing in the regulations or in practice among the states which would restrict or prevent districts from joining forces to provide one more effective regional program for disadvantaged children. Four, or five, or six districts in a region might join forces to hire a Title I staff which might serve children in each of the districts on an itinerant basis. It may be desirable to have remediation on a daily basis throughout the school year and, other things being equal, Title I programs might be well advised to operate in this fashion. However, we believe that it is probably better to have

intermittent remediation of good quality than to have routine remediation of limited quality, exactly the situation most districts confront as they do not have the resources to hire individuals specially trained in remediation of the disadvantaged.

A program consolidation creates economies of scale only in the sense of resources which may be used to purchase specialized talent required to plan and conduct effective Title I programs. The problem of disbursed population remains and would not be resolved by the construction of a centralized facility. Many disadvantaged students would be 100 or 200 miles from such a facility. But it is unnecessary to conceptualize compensatory education programs as being place-bound, that is, as being established in a permanent facility. It could easily be that regional cooperatives could convert large school buses into traveling remediation centers. These centers could roam the region setting up at convenient school sites for several weeks at a time to provide intensive training for those eligible children. As an additional function, such a center might allocate some time to the training of teachers who regularly work with the disadvantaged children in a regular classroom setting in follow-up and continuation activities. Thus, the regular teacher could continue the development until such time as the roving unit could return for another round of intensive remediation.

Our inquiry into Title I operations in the four intermountain states suggests the designing of compensatory responses to educational problems of the disadvantaged are not given a high priority in the states at the state level or in most of the school systems. We have suggested that this situation is a function of many things which characterize the states and these districts including:

1) prevailing norms and attitudes toward poverty;

2) the absence of poverty concentrations and hence the low visibility of disadvantaged educational problems; and

3) the general resource disadvantage of the states generally and many of their districts particularly.

There simply is not the manpower in these states to develop sophisticated compensatory education programs. They don't have the specialized staffs. They can't offer program breadth that might characterize larger districts or larger states (the states and school districts suffer this similar response limitations to other exceptional children, e.g., the handicapped, the gifted). The net result is that the districts and the state department personnel, in general, are in a state of frustration. They are aware of the needs--they would like to offer the advantages--but they can't because of resource limitations or they don't know how. The state of apathy we discussed earlier in this report may well be borne out of frustration and the inability to respond in ways that make sense. This is a serious problem for when representatives of these smaller, less resource abundant districts and states attend national meetings, go to workshops or take university courses they inevitably confront models for compensatory education which are designed as responses to the problems of kids in Harlem, in South Boston, in Gary, Indiana, or the barrios of East Los Angeles.

The programs and methodologies they encounter are not appropriate in the absence of concentrated need and larger scale resources. In these places programs for the disadvantaged do not represent the exception in a school program.

Rather they are the school program. Teachers who take a teaching assignment in East Los Angeles schools (or Compton, or Watts for that matter) become teachers of the disadvantaged. Seventy, eighty, or ninety percent of the children they teach will fit disadvantaged criteria. If they don't have expertise in the teaching of disadvantaged in remedial instruction they will acquire it on the job. This is not true of districts in Utah, Wyoming, Idaho and Montana. Teachers there characteristically see a small number of disadvantaged children. Disadvantaged are the exception. There is no overwhelming reason to train oneself in the instruction and instructional problems of disadvantaged youth. In a sense, therefore, in urban concentrations of disadvantaged, the entire school is converted into a resource. All teachers and administrators focus their attention on problems of the disadvantaged. That is not so in rural intermountain districts generally. If specialized teachers are employed to give instruction to those disadvantaged children they do not relate easily to other teachers in the building whose focus is not on the disadvantaged. Rather the teachers breath a sigh of relief and gladly turn over the three or four or five students to the remedial teacher and turn their attention back to the problems of educating the non-disadvantaged.

In view of these arrangements and circumstances we doubt that one national policy and particularly one set of guidelines can be appropriate to all disadvantaged children and disadvantaged districts. If there is anything that our study says, it says clearly that we must rethink Title I approaches and guidelines in areas such as the intermountain west.

There would be several ways to make this adjustment. An obvious way would be to reverse the trend from centralized, standardized decision-making to emphasize regional and local program development. Though attractive, at first glance, we have reservations about such a strategy. Districts in this region are generally ill-equipped to plan and execute sophisticated programs. State departments of education have functioned principally in accounting and monitoring functions. They also generally are unprepared to offer the technical assistance which would be required for most districts to develop realistic programs. If guidelines were relaxed, in all probability the Title I programs throughout the intermountain west would move slowly but surely back to replacement programs wherein Title I money is used for general purposes to purchase assistance which serves the broad student population (e.g., aids for regular classrooms). There would be no force to move the programs toward more consistent and effective Title I designs. We have emphasized in earlier sections of the paper the fact that in these four states there is no professional or parent Title I constituency which could lobby effectively for compensatory investment of available funds.

In view of this pessimism the other alternative which would seem available would be the development of different sets of guidelines for different district/disadvantaged circumstances. It might be that the Office of Education and the regional offices should be charged with the responsibility of developing typologies of disadvantaged problems and that districts could be categorized by type with regulation, monitoring, and technical assistance functions tailored to the needs of those types. Obviously, even within the intermountain west, there are various types of school systems. We have talked mainly about the problems of the smaller, more isolated districts. This is because there are more of them, and their problems in conforming to the spirit of the Title I guidelines is greater. But it must not be forgotten that Utah, for instance, has one district of 65,000 students, two others in the 40,000 category and one with 25,000

students all within the Salt Lake metropolitan area. In Idaho, there is Boise; in Montana, Billings; and in Wyoming, Cheyenne; all districts of moderate to large proportions. Clearly, the expectations for these districts with their larger size, greater economies of scale, and more concentrated incidents of poverty should be different from the remainder of the districts in these states. The task of developing indicators for classifying districts and typologies which would make sense would be a large-scale task and would require considerable research energies from the office. The end result, however, we feel would be one of more effective Title I administration.

A Radical Idea To Think About

If we accept the idea that there are different circumstances of disadvantaged and that these circumstances or the important functions are determined by local attitudes, concentration, student backgrounds and district and state resources, then, we can imagine several other responses which might be considered. One might be to give up the idea of a single national compensatory education policy. Since Title I was originally designed to respond to urban problems and its scope was expanded to include the incidents of poverty in the rural south primarily to obtain the required congressional votes, it may make sense to back up with Title I and create a national policy for urban poverty. It might be that Title I as we now know it would be applicable only to regions of one million inhabitants or more with certain minority concentrations. Thus, there would be no entitlement from this program for the thousands of small school districts. Such a program might apply to 100 or 200 districts perhaps and could be easily administered on a site-management basis directly from the Office of Education. For the problems of the disadvantaged in smaller school districts or in rural school districts, there could be a national rural compensatory program based on different assumptions about the incidence of poverty and the disadvantaged states. Such a division, we think, would make good sense for the states in which we have conducted our study. There is, of course, one problem with such a division and set of programs and that is their effect on state departments of education. As it stands now, Title I monies are funneled through state departments of education. For their administrative efforts the state departments receive a certain sum of money. We understand the political necessity of this arrangement, but our observations suggest that it is largely a political convenience and contributes very little to the efficient operation of Title I. It is not that the state departments in the four states we have studied have mal-intentions or that they don't want to have good Title I programs in their school districts. In fact, as a group, we found the Title I directors at state departments dedicated, intelligent and aggressive in trying to eliminate flagrant violations of Title I policy intent. It is simply that with the small staffs and lack of resources invested in Title I in the states that it is not possible to provide enough technical assistance to make any significant difference. In short, we doubt that in these four states the channeling of money through a state bureaucracy has contributed much to program development. Rather than stressing the administrative functions of Title I at the state level, it might be far better for the federal government to attempt to build with the state resource centers which could provide technical assistance to districts in designing and evaluating their Title I efforts. If we imagined a split in Title I policy with one dimension focusing on the large urban districts with the management bypassing the state establishment and those programs operating on a site-management principle, it might eliminate the impulse of the state people to spend a great deal of time looking hard at the

very large programs. In the four states we studied, the largest Title I programs were all in the largest school districts; thus, Cheyenne has the largest entitlement in Wyoming, Boise the largest entitlement in Idaho, Billings the largest entitlement in Montana, and the districts in metropolitan Salt Lake the largest entitlement in Utah. The fiscal management dimension of Title I virtually requires that the state officers look the hardest at these programs which have the largest staff resources and the greatest ability to go on their own. If the state departments were relieved of the responsibility of worrying about these districts they could concentrate their attention on the smaller districts which really need their support.